

# INTERRACIAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL FOR CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY



## COMMUNISTS AND THE NEGRO

Frank R. Crosswaith

•

## HOUSING – A CHRISTIAN PROGRAM

Robert R. Taylor

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## NEGROES IN ORGANIZED LABOR

Philip Murray

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Castel Gandolfo, Oct. 27 (A.P.). — Pope Pius XII in the first Encyclical of his reign blamed "the denial of God" for leading the world to war and pleaded for peace today.

— *The New York Sun*

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### The First Encyclical of His Holiness Pope Pius XII



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THE REGISTRAR

# INTERRACIAL REVIEW

November – 1943

Vol. XVI No. 11

## Christian Democracy

Christian Democracy rejects artificial inequalities due to racial myths, material greed or physical violence and recognizes only such accidental inequalities as necessarily accompany human life at all times and in all places.

As the objective of the Catholic interracial program, we define Christian Democracy as a society in which the God-given dignity and destiny of every human person is fully recognized, in laws, government, institutions and human conduct.

## POSTULATES

• The Catholic Interracial Program has a twofold aim: (1) the combating of race prejudice; (2) the attainment of social justice for the whole social group regardless of race.

• "Nothing does more harm to the progress of Christianity and is more against its spirit than . . . race prejudice amongst Christians. — There is nothing more widely spread in the Christian world." —*Jacques Maritain*

• "From the evidence on hand today, we cannot scientifically prove that the Nordic or the Negro is superior or inferior, one to the other." —*Rev. John W. Cooper*

• The interracial problem is the greatest world problem of today. It is the major threat to international peace. In America the interracial problem is one of grave national concern. It is perhaps the biggest problem confronting the Catholic Church in America.

• "Intolerance towards Negroes in the United States is perhaps the acme of the racial intolerance of modern nationalism." —*Carlton J. H. Hayes*

• The spiritual aspect of the Catholic interracial program flows from the common membership of all races in the Mystical body of Christ and the common expression of this unity in the Church's liturgy.

• Prejudice on the part of Catholic laity is a barrier to the conversion of the Negro and a trial to the new found Faith of the Negro convert.

• We must concede that the natural rights of the Negro are identical in number and sacredness to the rights of white persons." —*Rev. Francis J. Gilligan, S.T.D.*

• Catholic principles maintaining the equality of all men and upholding the sanctity of the Negro's natural rights, impose upon all Catholics a rule of conduct which must be followed, regardless of any temporary inconveniences, apprehensions or difficulties that may be encountered.

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## INTERRACIAL REVIEW

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## The Interracial Field

INTERESTING STATISTICS

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| Number of Negroes in U. S. ....            | 13,000,000 |
| Estimated Number of Protestant Negroes ... | 5,000,000  |
| Estimated Number of Catholic Negroes ...   | 300,000    |
| Estimated Number Unchurched ....           | 7,750,000  |
| Number of Negroes Attending Colleges ....  | 30,000     |
|  |            |
| Number of Catholic Negro Churches .....    | 326        |
| Number of Catholic Negro Schools .....     | 263        |
| Negro Enrolment in Catholic Schools .....  | 50,000     |
| Priests Engaged in Colored Missions .....  | 468        |
| Sisters Engaged in Colored Missions .....  | 1,600      |
|  |            |
| Negroes in New York City .....             | 478,346    |
| Negroes in Chicago .....                   | 277,731    |
| Negroes in Philadelphia .....              | 268,000    |
| Negroes in Washington .....                | 187,266    |

### From the Bishops' Statement

"In the Providence of God there are among us millions of fellow-citizens of the Negro race. We owe to these fellow-citizens, who have contributed so largely to the development of our country, and for whose welfare history imposes on us a special obligation of justice, to see that they have in fact the rights which are given them in our Constitution. This means not only political equality, but also fair economic and educational opportunities, a just share in public welfare projects, good housing without exploitation, and a full chance for the social advancement of their race. When given their rights in fact as in law, they will prize with us our national heritage and not lend ear to agitators whose real objective is not to improve but to destroy our way of living.

"In many of our great industrial centers acute tensions exist. It is the duty of every good citizen to do everything in his power to relieve them. To *create a neighborhood spirit of justice and conciliation* will be particularly helpful to this end. We hope that our priests and people will seek opportunity to promote better understanding of the many factors in this complex problem and strive for its solution in a genuine Catholic spirit."

## This Month and Next

In this issue, FRANK R. CROSSWAITH, the foremost advocate of organized labor for Negroes, presents a forthright exposé of the invidious tactics of Communists. We predict for this article a reception both noisy and grateful by the groups most intimately concerned . . . Chairman of Chicago's Housing Commission, ROBERT R. TAYLOR, Negro architect and economist, speaks with the authority of 15 years' experience in home building and city planning . . . "PHILIP MURRAY, President of the C. I. O." — to quote the citation awarding him the James J. Hoey Award for Interracial Justice — "has dedicated his entire life to labor."

### Hoey Awards For 1943

New York, November 5—More than 250 Negro and white Catholics gathered at the Carroll Club to honor the recipients of the annual James J. Hoey Awards for Interracial Justice, established by the family of the late Mr. Hoey, former Collector of Internal Revenue, and first president of the Catholic Interracial Council.

The principal speaker, the Rt. Rev. Msgr. John A. Ryan, Director of Social Action Department, N.C.W.C., commended the successful program of the Catholic Interracial Council in an address in which he said: "It is too bad we do not have more Interracial Councils in different parts of the country." He emphasized that there must be patience in the interracial program, but that this does not mean apathy in action and failure to complain of wrongs and to assert rights.

The recipients of the awards were: Philip Murray, president of the CIO, and Ralph Metcalfe of the Negro consultant staff, N.C.C.S.—until his recent induction into the Army. Mr. Metcalfe, a graduate of Marquette University, was a famous Negro athlete.

The medals were presented by the Very Rev. Msgr. Edward Roberts Moore, representing Archbishop Francis J. Spellman.

The citation to Mr. Murray, said in part:

"As President of the CIO, he has held to the principles of organizing all workers, regardless of race, color, creed or national origin. . . . Mr. Murray has consistently implemented his philosophy with direct action . . . and through his enlightened policy set a definite keynote for industrial democracy."

The citation to Mr. Metcalfe stressed "the effective guidance he gave to Negro youth as director of athletics at Xavier University, New Orleans" and the leadership and judgment he displayed in exceptional meritorious service in the USO Mobile and Maneuvers Services Division in the Southern States.

Because Mr. Metcalfe was unable to be present, the response on his behalf was made by Calvin Beckett, N.C.C.S. director of Norfolk, Va.

*Rev. Wm. M. Markoe, S.J., Founder, St. Elizabeth's Church, St. Louis, Mo.*

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### THE BISHOPS' STATEMENT

This Review and the organization which it represents, have from the beginning maintained two leading ideas as essential for the promotion of interracial justice.

The first idea is, that it is not sufficient to deal with merely the general principles of Christian democracy and social justice, however sound these may be, but that these principles must be made *specific*, so that there can be no doubt in anyone's mind as to how they should be applied to individual instances in the interracial field. We have held it is not enough to say the Negro, or any other social group, is *understood*, when we speak of certain elementary human rights and human duties, but that these social groups or minorities should be expressly mentioned. Otherwise their interests will be neatly shelved in the minds of those who applaud the general principles.

The second idea emphasizes the need of a widespread and constant program of *education* in these specific applications of social justice; so that they

will be brought home not merely to the public at large, but to particular groups, classes, parishes, neighborhood localities, etc.

It is no small encouragement to find both of these ideas confirmed in the lucid and challenging statement which was issued by the Administrative Board of the Catholic Bishops of the United States at the close of their annual meeting in November in Washington, D. C.

In the course of their statement, which deals with the Essentials of a Good Peace, the Bishops assert those great principles which underlie racial harmony in the domestic as well as the international scene: the essential unity of the human race and the dignity and inviolability of the human person:

In creation God gave to the human race its essential unity, and bound all men together in a brotherhood as comprehensive as humanity itself. In the plan of Divine Providence the human family was divided into nations and races, but

## INTERRACIAL REVIEW

this division in no way impaired the essential unity of mankind. When sin broke man's right relation with God and brought disunion between man and man, nation and nation, Our Blessed Saviour restored, perfected and ennobled human brotherhood . . .

All nations, if they are to conform to the moral law, must embody in their political structures the guarantee of the free exercise of native human rights, encouragement in the practice of virtue, an honest concern for the common good and a recognition of the inviolability of the human person.

These wider principles they apply to the specific instance of the Negro, as well as to the welfare of our Spanish-speaking population.

The Bishops conclude by sounding the note of opportunity: "If the responsibility faced by the victors is great, the opportunity is historical. Now there comes the chance not in hatred but in justice and charity to base a social reconstruction on truth and right."

The opportunity and the challenge are given to priests and people to study, promote better understanding, and *strive* for the solution of the interracial problems. The Bishops have spoken, and the Bishops are not alone in their speaking.

### Compromise Disastrous

What the Bishops said as pastors of souls, the president of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, the Hon. G. Howland Shaw, assistant Secretary of State, indicated as a Catholic lay leader. Mr. Shaw spoke on November 14 at the general meeting of the Conference in Buffalo. At this same annual meeting the subject of interracial justice was discussed in one of the public sessions, under the auspices of the Most Rev. John A. Duffy, Bishop of Buffalo.

Mr. Shaw's words were decisive:

One of the great problems arising out of the war will be liquidation of hatreds and bitternesses which it has engendered. As Catholics our part in the solution of that problem must at least be a determined fight against any and every movement of intolerance in our own country, against any movement which seeks to deny to any individual or to any group the right to contribute to society the best of which that individual or group is capable.

Any compromise on the treatment of racial minor-

ties "in our American democracy would be disastrous," he asserted, adding that we must look forward to "the immediate future when young Catholics, men and women," will take the initiative.

### Intellectual Honesty

It is the view of the Bishops, and the view of Mr. Shaw, that the promotion of justice and the combat against religious and racial intolerance are not matters which can be left to chance.

The Attorney-General of the United States is of the same opinion, and has also definite notions as to the importance and the scope of interracial education. At the annual dinner of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America on November 11, he said:

We are all concerned. Just as the blame must be shared by all alike, so it concerns us all—government, society, the churches, whose function here is indistinguishable from the democratic concept; labor, and the employers of labor; the press, school and college. . . . I suggest that what is greatly needed is a broader and more intelligent use of the moral and educational influences of the community. But intellectual honesty in such a field of prejudice and folkways can be achieved only by the slow and steady impact of education.

Most people are under the impression that intellectual honesty is something you are happily born with, or else imbibe with your mother's milk. If in the course of your life you find your mind cannot see quite straight with regard to any of your fellow citizens or fellow Christians, you are apt to believe there is nothing you can do about it, since after all you were just "born that way."

This is definitely not the Attorney-General's view. It is definitely not the Bishops' view, otherwise there would be no reason for their issuing their salutary lessons. Intellectual honesty is something to be learned and to be taught. We have too long been merely defensive and passive. "The *quality* of our Catholicism, its intensity and driving power" are what count, as Mr. Shaw observed. Let us be honest and let us carry on our battle for interracial justice, with new weapons and added sanctions.

## "Institute of Ethnic Democracy"

The recent proposal by John Collier and Saul K. Padover in the Autumn issue of *Common Ground* that the government "set up an Institute of Ethnic Democracy . . . to serve as a clearing house, a research body, and a stimulating and co-ordinating agency on all matters relating to 'minorities' and race problems," will promote considerable interest and discussion. Undoubtedly many students of race problems will favor the idea and will contend that the present plight of disadvantaged minorities calls for a permanent governmental bureau.

Among the reasons advanced by Messrs. Collier and Padover is the statement that, "the United States administers a number of over-seas possessions . . . and we have had no 'colonial policy'" . . . and the "real possibility that when the present war is over, the United States will find itself having custody over new island territories . . . "

It is suggested by the proponents of the plan that the "Institute might well be placed within the Department of the Interior," which "already administers, democratically, one important minority—Indians—as well as our Islands and Territories."

We agree that the problem is serious and that a solution must be found. But we do not regard this proposal as either sound or adequate. We doubt it will have the approval of minority groups.

We cite a few of the principal objections to the proposed plan: (1) Such an "Institute" might readily become an *administrative bureau*, and would serve as a "catch-all" for recommendations and complaints affecting minority groups. (2) If it should become a Federal Bureau—and we think this is probable—its structure, jurisdiction and authority would be determined by the ideas of reactionary Congressional committees, or political blocs with the Congress. (3) It places within the same category the civil rights of our minority groups here, and the problems of post-war mandated islands.

Certainly Negroes and foreign-born citizens must never be regarded as "problems." Our minorities are *not* problems. Rather our problems are the *prejudices of too many Americans*. And the remedy is education, not bureaucracy.

## Notes From

### XAVIER UNIVERSITY

*The First Catholic College for Negro Youth*

#### R. NATHANIEL DETT

The memory of R. Nathaniel Dett was honored publicly for the first time when the Music Students' League of Xavier University began its series of monthly concerts. In dedicating its opening performance of the year to the late eminent composer and musician, the League demonstrated to its patrons Dett's evaluation of spirituals: "a vehicle for giving thanks to God for all His benefits, for the utterance of prayers for strength, for the betterment of [the singers'] lives and of the world, for the giving of testimony of faith in a Divine Providence, for the projection of hope in the successful achievement of a triumphant life after death."

#### ARGENTINE EDUCATORS

Among the many Latin-Americans recently welcomed by Xavier University, are Dr. and Mrs. Sergio Bagu, eminent educators of Buenos Aires, Argentina. They are at present visiting the United States as guests of the State Department, and Dr. Bagu is making a study of the educational system of this country. While here at the University he and his charming wife, both of whom speak in Spanish, were introduced to members of the faculty and to many of the students by Dr. Raoul M. Perez, assistant professor of Romance languages, who acted as interpreter. (Dr. Perez will leave Xavier in December to join the United States Army).

#### MEETS FACULTY

At an informal gathering of the members of the faculty, Dr. Bagu told the group that, although they had been in this country for more than four months, this was their first visit to a university for Negro youth. Because he was anxious to learn of the attitude of the staff in regard to the manifold problems of the Negro in interracial matters, the subsequent discussion made the meeting memorable for all in attendance.

## COMMUNISTS AND THE NEGRO

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

As a Negro with more than a quarter of a century of uninterrupted activity within the American labor movement, I am able to speak with a measure of knowledge upon some questions affecting the Negro and labor. My baptism in the turbulent sea of labor occurred early in the year 1914 when I became a member of the Elevator Operators' Union. At that time, running elevators was among the most accessible jobs for a Negro in this city. Any Negro who couldn't find a job as a porter or dishwasher in those days had the alternative of becoming an elevator operator.

There existed at the time a very weak union of elevator operators whose membership was confined largely to white workers employed in the large office buildings, in hotels, and in some municipal buildings. The antagonism which existed between the small group of organized white operators and the much larger group of unorganized Negro operators, was intense and bitter. Among Negroes a union was looked upon as something to be opposed. This hostile attitude was the result not only of the inability of the Negro worker to enjoy industrial opportunities by securing employment whenever and wherever vacancies occurred, but it was also the result of the anti-union propaganda emanating from social agencies serving Negroes—agencies whose financial support came largely from rich "open shop" philanthropists and powerful industrialists.

One of the earliest impressions I gained, as I became a part of organized labor, was the degree of unity which manifested itself whenever the cloud of common danger hung above the labor movement. In those days units of the American Federation of Labor, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and independent unions, would sink their surface differences overnight whenever any question arose that affected adversely the workers of the nation, whether on the industrial, political, or other fields. Whenever a substantial group of workers in any industry sought to organize, they could always count upon the moral and financial support of all labor groups regardless of labels.

However, when the Communist movement was spawned this deep-rooted custom within the labor movement underwent an immediate change. Upon

their advent into the American labor movement the Communists brought with them the spurious notion that all types of social disorder make for social progress. With their feet planted solidly upon this terra firma of false theory, they felt it their bounden duty to create disorder and confusion where none existed. A study of the history of the Communist movement, in this and other countries not wholly under their control, will show that they always directed their bitterest attack, and concentrated their greatest fire, upon those labor organizations and leaders that were the most progressive and had secured the greatest gains for their members. My experience has convinced me that no force in American life has brought about more confusion, suspicion and disruption within the organized labor movement than have the Communists.

From the first the Communists emblazoned upon their so-called revolutionary banner such interesting slogans as, "Away with Immediate Demands — Forward to the Barricades" and "Remove God From The Skies And Capitalism From The Earth". That first slogan truly reflected their oft demonstrated lack of faith in the principles of Democracy and their unwillingness to rely upon the slow but sure medium of education and organization as the most reliable vehicles of social change and progress. Their second slogan symbolized their utter contempt for the spiritual institutions and ideas which have exercised a greater measure of constructive influence upon the human race than perhaps any other force or combination of forces. It is needless to point out here that the slogans and activities of the Communists were as welcome to the reactionaries, the anti-labor elements and others opposed to progress and change, as manna was welcome to the children of Israel during their historic march out of Egypt into Canaan.

As the apostles of confusion and chaos, it is among Negroes that Communists have literally worked overtime. But to the eternal credit of the Negro, Communists have made their smallest progress in relation to the time, the effort and the resources expended. Their record of activity among Negroes runs all the way from the celebrated case of the Scottsboro Boys, the case of Angelo Herndon, the once promising National Negro Congress, the March on Washington Movement, down to the recent disorders in Detroit

## INTER RACIAL REVIEW

and Harlem. In every instance the Communists seek, not so much to help the Negro, but rather to utilize the plight of the Negro as a means of advancing the cause of Communism. Daily, they single out one or more of the many problems that hourly haunt the Negro people and exploit them. In most instances the net result of their efforts is to aggravate the situation and further complicate matters.

Following the Civil War, and the consequent emancipation of the slaves, a group of Northern whites went into the South and began the exploitation of the newly freed Negroes. This group was called the Carpet Baggers. At the conclusion of their campaign they left in their tracks such evils as the Night Riders, the Ku Klux Klan and others which have haunted succeeding generations of Negroes in America. In our day the Communists can well be called the modern Carpet Baggers and like their predecessors will probably leave a record equally as provoking and as effective in preventing better understanding between Negro and white Americans.

Every Negro with talents and ability is being singled out by the Communists for capture. The bait used to accomplish this objective includes: promised financial support, publicity, intermarriage, self-determination in the Black Belt and so forth. Established Negro leaders and organizations are not overlooked. In each instance, those who resist the Communist program and tactics are immediately denounced, and all the vicious epithets so handy in Communist circles are promptly hurled at them. Notwithstanding this, the Negro masses refuse to be chloroformed by Communist appeal, and the reliable and outstanding Negro leaders are courageously rejecting the idea of becoming American tails to the Communist kite.

As A. Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and leader of the March on Washington Movement, has so clearly stated recently:

The Negro people are definitely disillusioned by the grandiose promises of the American Communist Party. Negroes are now bitter in their resentment against bankrupt and defunct Communists who have deserted and dropped the Negro like a "hot potato" on the grounds that racial discrimination, segregation and "Jim-Crowism" can run rampant while the war goes on; and the fight against them must be halted until Hitler's troops are driven out of Russia. After that,

according to the new Communist line, the fight may be resumed against Bilbo of Mississippi.

But these failures have not totally discouraged the Communists for in their well supplied bag of tricks they still have some unused devices. The trick they are now concentrating upon is deception or camouflage. They are apparently unaware of the inverse logic contained in the old adage, "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet". If this is true when applied to a rose, then it should be recognized as equally true and logical when applied to a Communist. The Communists are undoubtedly of the same conviction as Hitler who said, "To successfully deceive people tell a big lie rather than a small one."

Having failed to win any worthwhile following among American people as a party in the political field, the Communists have decided to enroll as members of the American Labor Party. By the abandonment of all those principles that regulate the democratic relationship of decent and civilized individuals with differing views, they hope to capture what was generally conceded to be one of the most promising expressions of American Labor in the field of politics. Upon their disguised entrance into the A. L. P. they have promptly embarked upon a campaign of slander and vilification directed against everyone in the Party who does not accept the Communist line. By so doing, they have created confusion and disorder. By their conduct they have weakened the party and thus hope to capture and control what is left of it. Their success in this regard has discouraged the politically-minded sections of organized labor as well as the liberal and progressive forces in society. Thus they have created a fertile field in which to sow again the cave-like creed that social disorder is the only road to genuine social progress.

Since the announcement in Russia of the dissolution of the Comintern, or Third International, Communists and Communist organizations have shown unseemly haste to disguise themselves, hoping thereby to fool the people into accepting them for what they are not. Illustrative of this new strategy is the recent special convention of what is no longer the Young Communist League but a "non-partisan organization of Anti-Fascists" concerned with a "second front" and with "effective prosecution of the war". In this respect the tactics of the Young Communist League

are symbolic of the tactics which Communists are employing everywhere.

Before Russia was attacked by Hitler and his Nazi satellites, the Communists in America were denouncing as "war-mongers" and "servants of Wall Street", President Roosevelt and every other American who favored support of Britain, France and Poland in their struggle against Nazism. Communists were opposed to the Lend-Lease Bill and to conscription. They picketed the White House as a protest against America's concern for the defeat of Hitler. From every street corner they gathered signatures under the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming". In Harlem and elsewhere they utilized every grievance of the Negro as a means of arousing his opposition to the war against Hitler and his totalitarian colleagues in crime. Where no actual grievance existed among Negroes, the Communists would magnify relatively unimportant incidents or create artificial ones.

Since the attack upon Russia the Communists have changed that particular "line". That attack has now enabled them to endorse the war, even though many of them leave no stone unturned to evade conscription, and to proclaim to all the world and sundry, that

they are the only living direct descendants of the American Revolution of 1776 and that they are the only true believers in the principles of Democracy. They have also agreed to "go easy" on the Negro issue, although without the concurrence of many Negro and white Communists. From the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming", they have now shifted to a persistent and clamorous demand for a Second Front.

Recently in a speech in Philadelphia, the leader of the Communist Party told the people that the election of former Ambassador William C. Bullitt as Mayor would meet with the displeasure of the Russian Government and would likely affect our relationship with Russia as one of our Allies in the current war.

To the average man of normal intellect with an ordinary sense of observation, the American Communists can be described literally as having their feet in America and their heads in Russia. As long as they continue to occupy this unrealistic posture, they will remain the outstanding force of destruction and confusion they have thus far been in the American labor movement, and will continue to hamper the progress of the Negro toward ultimate equality and justice.

## DECENT HOUSING – A CHRISTIAN OBJECTIVE

By ROBERT R. TAYLOR

The sponsors and editors of the *Interracial Review* deserve credit for wisely choosing race relations as a subject for study and thought. Without doubt, this is one of the most difficult and yet one of the most challenging problems which confront not only America, but the entire world.

The War has disturbed old patterns. Minority racial groups have been stimulated by the enunciation of the Four Freedoms and the announced causes for which we fight. Many liberal whites, long conscience-stricken by the vicious caste system in America based on race, have joined minority groups in advancing the cause of democracy for all people. The forces working for complete revision of racial attitudes are encountering stiff resistance from those determined to maintain traditional racial policies. Thus we witness tension areas throughout the country.

In some cities, extremely serious race riots have occurred. The field of race relations, therefore, is a broad area which should excite the ablest and most enlightened minds. It is apparent that any approach to a sound solution of this problem will prove to be a distinct contribution to Christianity and to democracy.

Historically, housing for minority racial groups has always been a focal point of bitterness and strife. Negroes migrating to Northern cities have encountered terrific resistance from whites in acquiring even the least desirable housing. Attempts at orderly extension of a Negro neighborhood to meet the normal expansion of population, almost always meets with racial conflict and frequently with violence. Even Negroes who have attained a profession and a degree of economic independence, are beset with legal im-

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pediments and often with physical threats and force when they acquire a home beyond the immediate boundaries of the crowded Negro neighborhood. Local and Federal housing authorities encounter organized pressure and vicious obstructions when attempts are made to develop housing for Negroes on vacant land, despite the fact that such sites may be miles away from white residents. This has not only confined Negroes to disgraceful ghettos and slums, but has also produced disastrous social and economic results. No single problem in race relations demands a more immediate solution than that of adequate housing for Negro people.

Decent housing for *all people* is of fundamental importance in the development of our way of life. Offhand, most people think of housing in a purely *shelter* sense. Actually, as one of the three fundamentals of civilization—food, shelter and clothing—housing is the most highly complicated and touches the very roots of our society. Taxation, land values, mortgages, technical construction, architecture, sanitation, health, morale, and social relations are just a few components of the problem. When housing for Negro families is proposed, the problem becomes even more complicated, for here one encounters such irritations as emotional bias and hypocrisy.

A modern home and decent environment mean a good family life—improved health, safety and the reduction of social hazards such as delinquency, crime, and other social problems. This actually spells a “freedom” now denied to one-third of our nation’s families. Implicit in Freedom from Want is adequate housing for all families. An adequate home in a decent neighborhood for every family in America must be both a Christian and a democratic objective.

Catholic groups in England have recognized the importance of housing and have given study and support to the program there. The Sub-Committee of the Executive of the *Sword of the Spirit* recently issued the following statement:

“Catholic teaching makes much of the fact that man owns most thoroughly that on which he is most able to exercise his creative gifts of mind and will and considers property as an ‘extension of personality’, calculated when administered with justice to deepen and widen a man’s influence and power for good.

“This being the case, the Christian can never look upon housing as one of mere economic purport, nor can he think of it as being completely governed by the exigencies of ‘Town-Planning’. He has the difficult task of trying to combine necessary respect towards economic laws and the rights of the community with the fullest measure of individual liberty. More than this, he has to foster the idea of personal initiative and creation, as it was known, for instance, in the days when the monks developed the art of the builder by their own personal labor and by their vision.”

The commentaries of this committee are interesting in that they not only develop the general promises of housing needs, but actually present a concrete program. The committee specifically proposes minimum dwelling standards and essential community accommodations, thus giving body and substance to the general term “Housing”.

Commissioner Herbert Emmerich of the Federal Housing Authority, in a recent address at the annual meeting of the National Association of Housing Officials said: “Once we have won this war we can again turn to the greater job of building comfortable, convenient, and beautiful homes, playgrounds, and cities, and thus, in part, fulfill the promise of our democracy.” This is indeed a challenging objective, especially envisioned against the background of present-day American cities and the plight of a third of the American families. It is a well-known fact that the cores of most of our cities have already decayed. Creeping blight is relentlessly exacting a terrific toll on municipal economy and imposing a staggering social cost on families living in slums.

Chicago furnishes an example of most American cities, having nine square miles of slums immediately surrounding the Loop. Exhaustive studies show that this area can be redeemed only by complete clearance, replanning and rebuilding. Meanwhile, these properties are occupied by 230,000 families, practically all of whom have moderate or very low incomes. The housing problem in Chicago is essentially the clearance of these slum areas, replanning and redeveloping them in the best public interest, and rehousing almost a quarter of a million families. This is definitely a program in which private enterprise and government must participate. Private enterprise should provide housing for those families which can

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afford to pay an economic rent. On the other hand, it should be the responsibility of government to furnish adequate housing for families whose incomes are too low to pay private enterprise to serve them decently.

There are indications that America will undertake an extensive housing program in the years following the war. Negro and other minority racial groups should participate equitably in such a program if it is to be successful, and if we are to extend and strengthen our democracy.

Equitable participation by Negroes in this program can be achieved only if:

Rigid racial restrictions and oppositions which artificially limit the use of land for Negro residents are relaxed;

Additional or new areas are opened to Negro occupancy to relieve congestion and provide for orderly expansion;

Adequate housing of acceptable standard is made available to Negro families in accordance with the need.

Major factors intensifying the difficulties which confront the Negro in gaining access to adequate and acceptable housing accommodations should be stressed. First to be noted is the operation of restrictive covenants and the great body of emotional prejudices against him. Thus the masses of Negroes are forced to reside in sub-standard dwellings in highly congested ghettos and slums. Secondly, training and employment restriction usually limit them to low income jobs and since the masses of Negroes are marginal workers, "last hired and first fired", they are constantly faced with economic insecurity. The result is that Negroes, today, and for some time in the future, constitute predominantly a low rental market. Private enterprise has been both unable and unwilling to meet any significant part of this housing need. The obvious conclusion is, therefore, that a governmental low-rent housing program is the only means of meeting the housing needs of a substantial portion of the Negro masses. Meanwhile, every effort should be made to obtain for them better jobs, increased wages and economic security.

Experiences with Negro tenants, in public housing and in the small number of privately sponsored projects, furnish abundant evidence that when offered opportunities to live in improved housing under inter-

ested and enlightened management, the Negro responds immediately to improved environments. Not only has he proved to be a good financial risk, but has demonstrated great care *in the use of* the property. The Federal Public Housing Authority experiences substantiate this statement.

What attitude then should Catholics assume with respect to the adoption for America of a sound and comprehensive housing program? What position should Catholics take to assure equitable participation by minority groups in such a program? The Executive of the *Sword of the Spirit* has indicated an excellent answer to these two important questions. I quote from the publication which states:

"As Christians we ought not to tolerate any attack, direct or indirect, on the dignity of man or on the sanctity of family life. For without these there is no lasting national life. Any measure which helps to preserve human life, or family life, it is our duty as Christians to support, and any practices which help to destroy this life, it is our duty as Christians to oppose . . .

"Family life is attacked where housing conditions are bad.

"Slums should be abolished, there is no excuse for slums.

"The political freedom which we enjoy in this our country enables us to work together to secure for every man and for every family freedom from want and insecurity. Let us join with all men of goodwill in this grand crusade. For unless we carry into our work as Christian reformers the fellowship we have found in common suffering in the war, all thoughts of happiness at home and peace with other countries are only dreams."

Today there is a clear and challenging call for Catholics and others to work for improved racial relations in America. Catholics have convincing economic and moral reasons to support a national program designed to provide adequate housing for all people, for this gives meaning to the principles of equality for all human beings. With a full realization that the theory of restrictive covenants is incompatible with the principles of the brotherhood of man. Catholic thinkers will lend their influence to dissolve the forces which today deny Negroes access to the normal housing market of the community in which they live.

# THE NEGRO IN ORGANIZED LABOR

By PHILIP MURRAY

I can remember, when I was very young and being instilled with the precepts of my Church, that I was told there was an equality of all men before God. I was reminded of that when, in the course of my organizing work for the United Mine Workers of America, I had an opportunity to go down into the deep South. There I found it impossible to get the whites and the Negroes together in a building to talk to them about the orderly, fundamental, economic problems which attach themselves to this great question of organization. For weeks I journeyed throughout the South, and wherever I went I found the seeds of hatred and prejudice becoming so deeply rooted that the populace found it extremely difficult, if not altogether impossible to eradicate them. Then one Sunday morning, I went to a little Catholic Church in a village in the heart of a great coal mining belt. In that church I found the Negroes and whites. There I sensed more keenly and deeply the need of the people to have a greater understanding of their responsibility to solve this question. Because in that little church they knelt together, they prayed together, they adored the same God, they were looking toward the same ultimate objectives—life ending—going to the same place. The Catholic doctrines are good; they are true; they should be preached; and above all, they should be practiced.

There is no place in American life where the roots of these problems go deeper than they do in American industry. Most of the social disturbances that have grown out of the racial question find themselves right in the heart of American industry. I contend that a union can not be a good union unless it is prepared to accord to all having membership in it, equality of treatment. I contend that no collectively bargained wage agreement, negotiated between employer and labor union, can be a good agreement unless it is built upon the rock of economic equality for everybody.

Just last week there was brought to my attention the wholesale discharge of one hundred seventy-five Negroes from a plant in a big Western city. There being no union at that plant, a group of people employed there, together with the management, had just decided to get rid of the Negroes. So they deprived them of the right to work for a living, saying in

effect, "Go to some other community where you can find yourself a job." That is an extremely unfortunate situation. It is one that ought to arouse public interest, the interest of the community, to eliminate from our industrial picture the abuses that grow out of these acts of discrimination.

There are no two institutions anywhere in the United States that can serve a more useful purpose in solving these problems than the Church and the labor organization. I am only one of thousands of people associated with a great labor movement whose interest is chiefly concerned with the elimination of all kinds of acts of discrimination. I am sufficiently realistic to know that with man's human imperfections, the day will never come when we will be able to abolish all forms of prejudice. We do not seek to attain a Utopia; we seek, through the use of such instruments as we may have at hand, to reduce to the lowest possible minimum, acts of discrimination on the part of labor unions, employers, and even government.

There must be a greater consciousness of the jobs that must be done to eliminate the evils that have developed down through the years in this political and economic fabric of race. There is a great need for energy and hard work—not necessarily the organization of pressure groups (I can understand how idiotic these can be). But there is need for the development of an intelligent, constructive, educational attitude all over the United States which may eventually eliminate much of this greed and selfishness and bigotry and prejudice.

Groups that serve a more useful purpose in this regard are, as I have said, the Church, primarily, and the labor union. I am confident in my own judgment that the labor organization can render more service in the elimination of these economic injustices than perhaps any other group in the country. There is a spirit of militancy there which, if intelligently directed, can more quickly solve the problem of racial discrimination than any other group. I think that the labor union of today has a greater responsibility than the labor union of yesterday. It is bigger today. It has grown, and with its growth it has developed responsibilities beyond those of a labor union to its members, definite public responsibilities to the community and to the nation.

# Inter-American and Interracial

By JOHN J. O'CONNOR



*Since men are brothers in God, international collaboration and interracial collaboration must be the twin foundation stones of a new world order.*

It was quite a shock to some of us to learn recently that conditions in Puerto Rico today are no better than they were when the United States assumed control of the island in 1898.

According to Bishop Aloysius J. Willinger of Ponce, thirty-five percent of the families earn \$200 or less annually. Seventy-two percent earn less than \$400. The weekly earnings of an average family vary from \$2.21 in the rural areas to \$7.60 in the cities. The estimated average yearly expenses for these families is \$42 more than their income. The result has been that they have a large indebtedness—\$32.60 for each family exclusive of mortgage indebtedness.

The vast majority of Puerto Ricans are Catholics, yet our government insisted on implanting an irreligious public school system in the island. It would appear that, in order to become a real American, one must first of all be de-Catholicized and revamped according to American standards—the standards set forth in our system of public education. There is no other explanation for the policy adopted and put into practice by the United States Government in Puerto Rico, where the entire emphasis is put on public education to the exclusion of religious and moral sanctions.

What has been the result of this incredibly short-sighted policy? A good number of Puerto Ricans learned to read and write. However, as Bishop Willinger points out, literacy at the sacrifice of religious and moral culture is a debatable asset, as the ever-increasing record of social degradation and criminality in Puerto Rico proves. Murder, for example, is 13.5 per 100,000 inhabitants on the island compared to 6.8 in the United States. There are no figures on juvenile delinquency in the Island for the simple reason that little or nothing is being done to cope with the problem.

We have a lot to answer for in Puerto Rico.

But the larger issue is that North American influence is making a profound impression today in every part of the world. Is that influence aiding or hindering the growth of Christianity and the development of Christian world order? Certain it is, if Puerto Rico is any yardstick, that our influence could be of a finer and more intelligent Christian quality than it actually happens to be at this moment. This is a challenge to us on the home front. And a good begin-

ning for an all-out Christian apostolate could well be in the tremendously important field of interracial justice.

## HAITI

Some weeks ago President Elie Lescot of the Republic of Haiti, and his staff, attended Solemn Pontifical Mass in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York. The sermon was preached by the Rev. John K. Wheaton, Navy Chaplain, who is one of the survivors of the cruiser *U.S.S. Helena*.

This is part of the message that President Lescot took back with him to Haiti:

"On the ship to which I was attached, the cruiser *Helena*," Father Wheaton declared, "the crew was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. Every Sunday at the Masses on board, one of the officers or men recited the Rosary and all responded. On week days the men would gather in small groups to recite their Rosary together. After our ship was sunk, a small group of us were floating on our life belts for a period of about 15 hours. We knew that Our Blessed Lady was watching over us. We all united in praying for help and, as we finished, a plane appeared overhead and dropped a life raft to us. It was on this raft that a few days later we landed on a Japanese-held island. Friendly natives hid us from the Japanese, protected and fed us. During our stay on the island, at the request of the men, we joined together in reciting our night prayers."

## BRAZIL

The founding of 56 parishes and the founding of eight apostolic schools were among the accomplishments of Archbishop Jose Gaspar de Afonseca e Silva during his brief reign as Archbishop of Sao Paulo.

The Archbishop met a tragic death a few months ago when an airplane in which he was a passenger crashed into a skyscraper building as it was preparing for a landing in Rio de Janeiro.

In his will, written two years ago, Archbishop Silva had this to say: "When I was named Archbishop of Sao Paulo I possessed nothing but my clothers, a motor car I had bought when made Auxiliary Bishop, and a small library of books I had formed as professor in the Seminary. All this I have given over to the Archbishop's house, and die without having anything of my own."

A new archbishop has been installed. Following the ceremony, Archbishop Jaime de Barros Camara walked out to the steps of his cathedral and told a vast assemblage in the square: "I am always ready to welcome any one of you who needs me. Come you all to me."

One great social-minded archbishop has been followed by another great episcopal leader. The superb Christian spirit in Brazil never dies, never falters, is never eclipsed.

## LAST MINUTE

The new police director in Bogota has under consideration a program for intensifying religious instruction among those under his command. The director is convinced that police without morals and without religion can never satisfactorily fulfill the duties their office imposes . . . The Maryknoll Sisters will accept mission work in Nicaragua.

# AS YOUTH SEES IT

EDITED BY YOUTH

**N**owhere in the mass of post-war blueprints by would-be political architects has there appeared any plan so fundamental and all-inclusive as that contained in the recent statement of the Catholic Bishops on Peace Essentials. Among the problems whose solution is stipulated by the Bishops as "essential" to world harmony, perhaps none has been more neglected in previous statements than that of interracial accord.

"It would be inconsistent", the Bishops stated, "to promote a world reconstruction in which all nations, great and small, powerful and weak, would enjoy their rights in the family of nations, unless in our own national life we recognize an equality of opportunity for all our citizens and willingly extend to them the full benefits of our democratic institutions."

Proceeding from this general introductory expression of an incontestable fact, the statement next made specific reference to those racial problems which exist in our own country. "In the Providence of God there are among us millions of fellow citizens of the Negro race. We owe to these fellow citizens, who have contributed so largely to the development of our country, and for whose welfare history imposes on us a special obligation of justice, to see that they have in fact the rights which are given them in our Constitution. This means not only political equality, but also fair economic and educational opportunities, a just share in public welfare projects, good housing without exploitation, and a full chance for the social advancement of their race."

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When the leaders of the Catholic Church in the United States speak with such clarity, such wisdom and such obvious logicality, it becomes the duty of every Catholic to give public evidence of his concurrence in the basic truths expressed by them. Just what is meant by "public evidence" should be the question which concerns us here. More than anything else, it does not mean that purely vocal kind of evidence which most of us give so effortlessly and without thought. The only way in which a man may prove his belief in any fact is by living that fact. If most of us who have mouthed windy platitudes about the need for interracial cooperation, fairness and understanding had lived by the light of our own preaching, the problem would find itself today much closer to its ultimate solution.

It is well to remember that, in the matter of interracial charity and justice, the choice of conformity or non-conformity is not ours to make. The Bishops tell us "it is the *duty* of every good citizen . . .". As Christians, ours is a double injunction: "Love one another as I have loved you". Since, therefore, no man may be either an honest Christian or a true citizen if he harbors prejudice in his heart, one cannot help wondering how many of us are automatically barred from these two groups to which we so noisily proclaim allegiance.

Realizing this stern obligation to which Youth is bound, the Alumni Race Relations Council has this year been working with renewed vigor to achieve that practical action without which no work can prove vital or effective. It is the expressed purpose of this Council thoroughly to familiarize itself with all phases of the problem of group prejudice, not only as this problem includes racially distinct groups but also as it includes all groups which, by virtue of creed or ancestry, are part of our national prejudicial attitude.

Nor did the Bishops, in their plea for racial cooperation, speak merely of the Negro. They said also: "And we plead as well for a generous interest in the welfare of our Spanish-speaking population . . . They also have a right to expect the full enjoyment of our democratic institutions and that help in social life which is accorded to others". The reality of the persecution of Mexican-Americans was recently brought home to the members of the A.R.R.C. through a letter which their president, Miss Margaret Gannon, received from a Californian of Mexican extraction. He wrote: "I have read your article in the September issue of the *Interracial Review* with great interest. Your Council is indeed doing some great work in American race relations, and no doubt will be even more successful in the future. However, I have one suggestion to make that is very important to me and my people . . . In my opinion, stronger efforts should be made to help integrate the Spanish-speaking group into the main stream of American life. We are faced here in the Southwest with a situation that is extremely deplorable and worthy of your Council's utmost attention and consideration. In many communities we are segregated in schools, swimming pools, theatres, parks, churches, and other public places".

With an honest admission of comparative ignorance on this subject the Council herewith promises to make a deeper study of this situation and to do its zealous best in combating this evil.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our own Father LaFarge, in a recent article in *America*, describes with customary inspiring vigor still another phase of this expression of prejudice in America. "We are rightly shocked when we hear Racism or anti-Semitism denounced by certain groups who are indifferent to insults against our most sacred convictions, doctrinal or moral, as Catholics. We agree instantly with the preaching of anti-hate campaign on behalf of Catholics. It is well we should; otherwise we should be disloyal and untrue to our Faith. But if we mean our anti-hate, if we mean to conquer hate and hate propaganda in all and in any form, we must grieve over and must protest against the beating of Jewish boys in urban Catholic neighborhoods."

\* \* \* \* \*

The Church, in its approach to the problem of prejudice, includes all phases and all peoples. It is for us in our approach (which is *de facto* the approach of the Church) to be all-inclusive in a double sense: not only must our charity be directed towards all peoples, all nationalities, all races and all creeds, but that Charity must result from the concerted action of *all those* who would answer to the two-fold appellation of Christian and American.

—MARGARET McCORMACK

**PLAYS**  
**And**  
**A Point Of View**

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS



## ROBESON'S OTHELLO

Margaret Webster's production of "Othello", presented by the Theatre Guild, with a cast headed by Paul Robeson, has received so many rave reviews that my comment hardly matters. The production is splendidly mounted and astutely cast, as one would expect, for Guild-sponsored plays are usually presented in grand style and good taste. So many big, if not better, reviewers have praised the production that the only thing I can add is a superfluous "me too". They are so unanimous in lauding Robeson's performance that they have practically exhausted the stock of English adjectives. The only comment for me to make on his interpretation of the role is that it is excellent.

I might mention, of course, that "Othello" was written by one William Shakespeare, a playwright of some importance in our literary heritage; and that the interracial tragedy, the most modern of his plays, is one of the minor works of his pen. In the Guild-Webster production the author and the play are equally insignificant. The reviews and the talk about town are all Robeson.

Which is as it should be, for the production marks a new departure from theatrical tradition and shatters a time-honored, if not honorable, convention of race prejudice. While Robeson's appearance in the title role is an important event in the theatrical world, it is even more significant in its social implications.

An adequate appraisal of the production would carry one far afield from the beaten path of stage comment and through one of the dirtier back alleys of interracial ideology. The central fact of the play is an interracial marriage. Shakespeare does not present the marriage apologetically, or with reservations, or with any discernable intention to make a case either for or against the wisdom of such unions. He simply shows a man and a woman of different races—one African, the other European; one black, the other white—loving each other romantically and consummating their passion in lawful wedlock. Shakespeare, in brief, wrote casually about a matter that is the ultimate taboo of the American color problem.

The subject is practically never frankly discussed in public, and rarely gets into our poetry or fiction or drama, except for polemical purposes, usually to prove the negative. The mere thought of interracial marriage is supposed to be repugnant to the average white American; and for all I know, it may be. Respect for the taboo has certainly been strong

enough to prevent any American dramatist from treating the subject with anything remotely approaching Shakespeare's candor.

A few authors, Eugene O'Neill, Jim Tully, and Du Bose Heyward, have made discreet efforts to skirt the taboo and at the same time discuss the subject with dignity and understanding. All three made respectful, if not reverent, genuflections to race prejudice. In two of the plays, I mention for the record, Robeson played the leading role. Robeson's progress from O'Neill and Jim Tully to Shakespeare covers an interesting span of theatrical history and reveals his growing stature on our contemporary stage.

That the caution of authors and producers was not wholly due to timidity was illustrated by a gag struck off by Irvin Cobb, the humorist, when Robeson was appearing in the O'Neill play. Cobb was asked for his opinion of the play in which mixed marriage was involved. He replied that he had not heard of the play and asked what was its title. When told that the title was "All God's Chillun Got Wings", Cobb commented, "Well, if they try to show it in my home town, they'll need 'em".

Modern artists and intellectuals applauded O'Neill's play as a step forward in theatrical progress, even when they were more lukewarm toward its merits as a specimen of drama. Cobb, perhaps, was out of step with the majority of his fellow craftsmen, but there was little doubt that he expressed the attitude of the general public. A newspaper is usually quite sensitive to the pulse of public opinion, although not always reflecting it. When Heywood Broun commented favorably on the play he immediately got into hot water with his paper, the *New York World*. The publishers insisted that the subject was too controversial to handle and forbidden by "law in many of the Southern and border States". The quote is from an inter-office communication which came to light when Broun made a fuss about being subjected to editorial censorship. It might be mentioned, incidentally, that *The World* was the leading progressive paper of the nation from the turn of the century until its demise.

It is significant, too, that none of the early plays in which mixed marriage was involved in the plot, was a paying proposition from a box office point of view. The critics usually gave them just reviews, perhaps bending a little backward to prevent erring on the side of unfairness. But a play cannot survive merely because its press notices are favorable. It's the take at the door that counts. For proof, remember "Abie's Irish Rose", and "Tobacco Road", and consider the currently popular "The Naked Genius". All three productions were panned by the reviewers but nevertheless were a payoff at the door.

As plays including mixed marriage as a part of the story were always box office failures, except those intended to prove that intermarriage is against nature and against the best interests of society, it is not hard to understand why authors and producers came to believe that the public did not want debatable plays on the subject, and was even more strongly opposed to white and colored actors playing opposite each other in romantic roles. That belief has influenced

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practically all former American productions of "Othello". Although Shakespeare makes it clear that Othello's associates considered him a black man, most American producers have presented him as a swarthy man, a brunet, or an Anglo-Saxon just back from the beach with a deep sun tan. So far as the substance of the play is concerned, it does not make any difference whether Othello is presented as a Swede or a Senegambian. Shakespeare created him an African, however, and changing him to a Mediterranean is a departure from the script. When the change is made in obedience to the mandate of race prejudice it becomes dramatic dishonesty.

Robeson first interpreted the role in England, where race prejudice is a great deal more sophisticated than it is in our country. Ira Aldridge played the role in London a hundred years ago, with a white actress in the part of Desdemona. English audiences, whose forbears had applauded Aldridge, were clamorous in acclaiming Robeson.

In spite of his London success, I suspect that Robeson's producers were haunted by numerous misgivings when they decided to risk an American production. The itinerary of the production suggests as much. His first American appearance in the role was in a Summer theatre in Massachusetts, where audiences were drawn mainly from vacationing artists and literary people. The production was next tried out in the rather exclusive college town of Princeton, New Jersey. I think both of those ventures were trial balloons sent up before the producers finally decided to present the production before an audience of average theater patrons.

The experiment was an unqualified success. The critics were virtually unanimous in praising the production, especially Robeson's performance, and the public is mobbing the box office for tickets.

Both critics and public are taking Robeson's "Othello" in stride, proving that in at least one great American city, tolerance is stronger than race prejudice. We have come a long way since "All God's Chillun Got Wings", when white and colored actors of different sexes playing opposite each other caused a controversy which a big newspaper considered too hot to touch. Robeson, as man and artist, has had a large hand in bringing about the change.

## FROM HERE AND THERE DURING THE MONTH

### ● DETROIT INTERRACIAL COUNCIL HOLDS IMPORTANT CONFERENCE

Representatives of Catholic Societies of the archdiocese joined with the members of the Catholic Interracial Council of Detroit in honoring their patron, Blessed Martin de Porres, on Sunday, November 7. The program opened with High Mass celebrated by Father Henry P. Thiebels, C.S.Sp., in Sacred Heart Church.

In his sermon, Father Thiebels told how St. Peter Claver, white, and Blessed Martin, colored, knew neither race nor

color but saw in each human being a soul redeemed by Christ and to be brought to Christ.

Mass was followed by dedication of the shrine, consecration of the members of the Catholic Interracial Council to the Sacred Heart and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

Following a luncheon served by the women of the parish, a forum discussion on "Catholic Action in Race Relations" was conducted. Charles L. Rawlings, chairman of the council, served as chairman and stated the aims of the council. He said it seeks to educate the public in the Christian principles of the spiritual dignity of the human person, the universality of the Church and the application of these principles to race relations.

Father Thiebels spoke on the Catholic doctrine of race relations, declaring that the basis of interracial justice can be found in the life of Christ as related in the parables, especially that of the publican and the Pharisee and that of the Good Samaritan. The work of social betterment, he explained, must be naturally slow and grow slowly just as the Church has developed.

Father Robert Wilkin, O.F.M., professor of sociology at Duns Scotus college and a member of the faculty of the Detroit Archdiocesan Labor Schools, acted as moderator of the discussion.

The following organizations took part in the discussion: The Association of Catholic Trade Unionists; Newman Club of Wayne University; Knights of Peter Claver; Ladies Auxiliary of the Knights of St. Peter Claver Guild; Ford Local No. 600, UAW-CIO; and the clergy and members of Sacred Heart parish organizations.

### ● VENEZUELA SHOCKED BY AMERICAN RACISM

Caracas, Venezuela—The four prominent editors of Venezuela who have just returned from a tour of industrial centers in the United States have been a unit in their impressions about the great republic which lies to the north. The men who made the trip as the guests of the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American affairs, Nelson Rockefeller, director, were: Luis Esteban Rey of Ahora; Pascual Venegas Filardo of El Universal; Manuel R. Pocaterra of El Heraldo and Jose Miguel Ferrer, attached to the information office of the ministry of foreign relations here.

In a composite digest of their impressions the Venezuelan writers agreed:

That the power and magnitude of the war effort being made by the United States was so great that the Allies were certain to win the war.

That North Americans were absolutely ignorant of Venezuelans and, for that matter, of most South American countries; had never taken the trouble to learn about them, and were perhaps friendly but slightly disdainful.

That President Roosevelt is one of the truly great figures in the world today.

But overshadowing everything and looming important in the future relationship of the United States and the South American countries to which she is attempting to play the "good neighbor and big brother," was the racial prejudice

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which they found in the United States. As the greatest exponent of democracy in the world, the editors regarded the stand of the United States on racial matters as an incomprehensible paradox.

### ● PRESIDENT ORDERS NO DISCRIMINATION

Washington, Nov. 6—President Roosevelt directed today that all contracts with the Government must contain anti-race-discrimination clauses, thus overruling an opinion by Controller-General Lindsay C. Warren that the requirement was "directive" rather than "mandatory."

"I wish to make it perfectly clear," the President said in a letter to Attorney General Francis Biddle, "that these provisions are mandatory and should be incorporated in all Government contracts. The order should be so construed by all Government contracting agencies."

The Controller General's opinion was given recently in a case in which the Southwestern Bell Telephone Company of Kansas City, Mo., refused to execute a contract containing a clause forbidding discrimination against workers because of race, color or national origin.

"There is no need for me to reiterate," the President added, "the fundamental principles underlying the promulgation of the Executive Order—namely, that the prosecution of the war demands that we utilize fully all available manpower, and that the discrimination by war industries against persons for any of the reasons named in the order is detrimental to the prosecution of the war and is opposed to our national democratic purposes."

### ● MERE "TOLERANCE" OF NEGRO IS ASSAILED AS UN-CHRISTIAN

Springfield, Ill., Nov. 6—A true Christian should not be "satisfied with extending 'tolerance' to the Negro," the Most Rev. James A. Griffin, Bishop of Springfield in Illinois, asserted in an article written for the "Unity For Victory" edition of the *Illinois Chronicle and Conservator*, in which he advocated "social emancipation" for the colored race in this country.

"We 'tolerate' something evil, like sickness, insult and war. But we 'appreciate' and 'love' that which is good. Therefore, no true Christian should be satisfied with extending 'tolerance' to the Negro. Since he is our brother sharing with us the same sonship of a Common Father, God, the Negro should receive from every Christian worthy of the name an uncompromising manifestation of fraternal charity," Bisnop Griffin stated.

Reminding that Pope Pius XI declared, "There is but one race . . . the human race," and that Pope Leo XIII had counseled, "Our advantages flow from that new birth and adoption into the household of God, not from the eminence of race," Bishop Griffin wrote:

"Charity and Justice are supernatural virtues which come from God alone and cannot be acquired by mere human effort. The atmosphere of democracy is the most ideal medium in which these virtues may best be exercised. Abraham Lincoln realized this when he loosed the fetters from the American Negro by the Emancipation Proclamation. Subse-

quent history has regrettably shown that this noble effort has at best developed into a mere economic development. Therefore 'it is for us, the living' to complete the work of the great Lincoln by expanding his effort into a social emancipation as well."

### ● ST. PETER CLAVER'S PARISH OPENS BROOKLYN LABOR SCHOOL

Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 1—A labor school has been opened in St. Peter Claver's colored parish in this city. Courses will cover every phase of the labor question, as well as economics, Catholic social teachings and a study of the Church's liturgy.

Among the lecturers on the staff are Assistant District Attorney of Kings County, Clarence Wilson; and Louis A. Crisano, litigation attorney for the New York State Labor Relations Board.

Eight other Diocesan Labor Schools began their 1943-44 program this week with more than 400 persons registered for the sessions.

Among speakers on the opening night were the Rev. William J. Kelley, O.M.I., member of the New York State Labor Relations Board; the Rev. William J. Smith, S.J., director of the Crown Heights Labor School here; and the Rev. Thomas J. Darby, director of the Labor School of the College of New Rochelle, N. Y.

### ● EDUCATORS URGE EQUALITY FOR RACIAL MINORITIES

Pittsburgh, Pa., Nov. 6—Equal opportunity for all racial and religious minorities was advocated in a resolution adopted by the delegates of the twenty-eighth semi-annual meeting of the School Superintendents' Department, National Catholic Educational Association, which held its two-day session here.

The equal opportunity resolution stated:

"Looking to our country's profession as indicated in Christ's teaching on the Mystical Body and recognizing in the unhappy conditions that now exist by reason of race tension, we respectfully urge those in authority in the fields that constitute areas of tension to address themselves to the necessity of creating equal opportunity for all—more especially do we refer to the fields of civil rights, education, labor relations, public welfare, agriculture and governmental employment."

### ● CIO TAKES STAND AGAINST INJUSTICE

Philadelphia, Pa.—The Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), with a Negro membership of more than 500,000, made an indirect bid for additional Negro support last week in its history-making Sixth Constitutional convention.

Highlights of the convention included unanimous endorsement by the delegates of two resolutions directly affecting the Negro's fight for full citizenship status: the anti-poll tax bill and the anti-discrimination resolution.

"Resolution 13" reiterated the firm opposition of the CIO to any form of racial and religious discrimination and renewed the pledge to carry on the fight for protection in law and in fact of the rights of any racial and religious or minority group to participate fully in the social and political life of the nation.

## INTERRACIAL REVIEW

### • NEW ANTI-POLL TAX BILL TO BE BROUGHT UP FOR VOTE

Washington, D. C.—On November 12th, the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate, by a vote of 12 to 6, reported on HR 7, the anti-poll tax bill. So strong was popular feeling on the bill that a special meeting had been called for its consideration and every member of the Committee voted on it.

On November 15th, a second victory was won, when the Committee voted down, 9 to 8, a proposal for a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax, introduced by Senator O'Mahoney of Wyoming and endorsed by Senators Connolly of Texas and Bilbo of Mississippi. Since these men have publicly stated their opposition to any national legislation to abolish the poll tax, their support in itself, discloses the real effect of the proposed amendment—to side-track Senate consideration of HR 7 and split the unified support now behind it.

The poll tax Senators have served notice that they will filibuster, but a two-third majority by the Senate can limit the debate to one hour for each Senator.

## BOOKS

### U. S. FOREIGN POLICY-SHIELD OF THE REPUBLIC. By Walter Lippman

In a book that is written with directness and sincerity, Mr. Lippman has given America a course on Foreign Policy. It is greatly needed. His "main thesis is that the foreign policy which had served the United States, on the whole so well, during most of the nineteenth century, became dangerously inadequate after 1900". At that point the United States took on a new obligation in the far Pacific, and Germany by deciding to build a great Navy "became a challenger for world power." Because of our failure to readjust our foreign policy to meet this revolutionary change in the situation, we have for over forty years been unprepared to wage war or to make peace, and we have remained divided among ourselves on the conduct of our foreign relations.

The fundamental principle of a foreign policy, in the words of the author, "consists in bringing into balance with a comfortable surplus a power in reserve, the nation's commitments and the nation's power." By a foreign commitment he means "an obligation outside the continental limits of the United States which may in the last analysis have to be met by waging war". And by power he means "the force which is necessary to prevent such a war or to win it if it cannot be prevented."

The book is divided into two parts of which the first is an historical narrative of the growth of American foreign relations from the birth of the Republic until now. From 1823 to 1898 was a solvent period when America, through wise statesmanship, took on only such obligations as were

within her own strength and that of her ally, Great Britain. In the matter of the Monroe Doctrine the strength was almost wholly that of British sea power.

At the turn of the century our obligations included the defense of territory from Alaska to Luzon, from Greenland to Brazil, from Canada to the Argentine.

The period from the Spanish American war in 1898 until 1941, Mr. Lippman declares, was a period of bankruptcy—a time of national failure to balance our commitments. Because of this failure we have had to fight two great unexpected wars for which we were unprepared.

Part two is devoted to the subject of the inquiry, namely, "to discover and elucidate the valid foreign policy of the United States in our own time". The author examines in detail the structure of the American position, its defensive area, its vulnerability, the interdependence of the members of the Atlantic Community, and finally our relations with Russia and China.

The conclusion of this learned and cogent treatise is that a better world will come only if the three great military States which will emerge victorious from the present war, form an alliance and organize "an order in which the other peoples find their liberties are recognized by laws that the great powers respect and that all peoples are compelled to observe."

Mr. Lippman's book is a contribution of deep and lasting value to our country.

—CHARLES A. BIRMINGHAM

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# The Interracial Review

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(From "Communists and the Negro" in this issue)

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